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GERARD S. SLOYAN **IS THERE ANY HOPE FOR THE LITURGY?**

WILLIAM PFAFF **A GRAND STRATEGY . . . FOR 1960**

MAURICE BERUBE **BENIGN NEGLECT FOR EDUCATION TOO**

)WARD R. CAIN **STARS AND STRIPES FOREVER**

PHILIP M. KAYAL **THE FINAL SOLUTION FOR COLLEGE UNREST**

STUDS TERKEL **FIRE AND BLACKSTONE**

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NEWS & VIEWS

Ripon Charges State

It is difficult to understand the large silence which followed the Ripon Society's charging of the State Department with "insubordinate delay" in responding to Mr. Nixon's Biafran initiatives and of insufficient response to the threat of mass famine in Biafra.

Charges of far lesser gravity have produced mighty reactions. Recall the thunderbolts of John Mitchell after Ripon declared that Mitchell was allowing political strategy to dictate law enforcement strategy.

But insubordination—that charge falls like a rock into a dry well, with a clunk and hardly an echo.

Congress goes about its business and the media pays the matter not much heed—although the latter doesn't surprise much. The media have been so intimidated by Washington that insubordination involving the State Department isn't a topic you'd expect to be hungrily pursued these days.

The two principal accusations against State in the Ripon brief were (1) failure to act on a U.S. Public Health Service report that almost one-third of the Biafran population suffered from edema, the last stage of protein starvation; and (2) ten-days' delay in implementing a Nixon instruction to provide Nigeria information gathered during the wartime airlift on starvation conditions in Biafra, together with data on available U.S. relief.

Ripon also accused State of misleading public relations, specifically by issuing statements intended to please the Nigerian government and rebut American fears about starvation in defeated Biafra.

The State Department issued a reply over the signature of Under Secretary Elliot Richardson, but it was hardly convincing. "Mr. Richardson has been very careful . . . not to deny directly our main charge of insubordinate delay and negligency," Ripon president J. Lee Auspitz commented. "We repeat our charge."

Where does that leave the issue? On a back burner.

Auspitz is hopeful that someone in Congress or the Administration will press the Ripon charge, but he is not optimistic. "There are no great power interests involved," he remarked sardonically, "just people's lives." . . . And black lives at that.

Make Love, Not Ripples

The *Boston Globe's* poll of Massachusetts youth showed that 83 percent of the state's Catholic collegians disapprove of burning the American flag as a protest action, and that 71 percent nix the idea of protestors carrying Viet Cong flags.

The figures are even larger among Catholic working youth; 98 percent reject the burning of the American flag and 89 percent oppose the parading of Viet Cong flags.

In all instances, the percentages are significantly higher than those for youths who are not Catholic. *The Globe* explains the Catholic pattern as a reflection of "the church's traditional teaching of respect and responsibility to the country and flag."

Maybe so, but the "traditional teaching" yardstick doesn't apply in measuring attitudes on premarital sex.

The Globe's poll found that 79 percent of Catholic college students consider premarital sexual relations acceptable behavior for people in love, while 64 percent deem it socially acceptable for a couple to live together without being married.

Among young Catholic workers the figures are 62 and 31 percent, respectively.

That's enough to sober an Edwin O'Connor pastor.

The Globe says the figures on sex attitudes reveal further "the new sense of sexual emancipation" among today's youth. No argument there.

Unmaking of a Liberal

It's open season on White House counselor Daniel Moynihan, and no one seems to have given his enemies more ammunition for use against himself than has Moynihan.

His memos are a disaster, and always there's that 1965 Moynihan Report. The surfacing of each infelicitous memo about "benign neglect" and opportunities for more blacks to become "truck drivers, mail carriers, assembly line workers" seems to manufacture some new grievance with that Report, as well as a new prejudice against Moynihan himself.

A *Washington Post* letter-writer zeroed in the other day on the Report, zinging, of course, Moynihan's evaluation of "the Negro family."

But another detail of the Report, one which had rested in the dusty recesses of memory, was also recalled to mind, and it is perhaps the most devastating of all the booby traps Moynihan has left lying around for himself.

The detail is Moynihan's prescription of the armed forces as a remedy for disorganized Negro family life: ". . . a dramatic and desperately needed change: a world away from women, a world run by strong men of unquestioned authority, where discipline, if harsh, is nonetheless orderly and predictable, and where rewards, if limited, are granted on the basis of performance. The theme of a current Army recruiting message states it as clearly as can be: 'In the U.S. Army you get to know what it means to feel like a man.' "

Daniel Moynihan's heart is unquestionably in the right place, but, Lord, is he the victim of his own rhetoric. You'd almost think Spiro Agnew was doing a little ghosting for Pat Moynihan.

Yardley Jones, Toronto Telegram

"But there's no room on the label for the encyclical, too!"

Odds and Ends

—Syndicated columnist Jack O'Brian offers the interesting statistic that no member of the House Armed Services Committee has a son or grandson who has done duty in Vietnam.

—For police departments with limited budgets, General Ordnance Equipment Corporation has a new super-duper tear smoke (the word "gas" is out), called PEPPER FOG. It is advertising the product under the catchy caption "Street Cleaner."

—Bad luck for General Dynamics. It's double-page ad in *Air Force* magazine celebrating the F-111 family virtually coincided with an Air Force announcement that the F-111 is indefinitely grounded. Damn thing still won't fly right. JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Auden—Right Side Up

Chicago, Ill.

To the Editors: Does one dare, as an amateur (amator) of Auden, to take on an English pro (fessor)? Re Merton and Auden, 2/27/70.

First of all, let us hope that Mr. Materer is not responsible for the upside-down picture of Auden on the first page. But right away one knew who was going to come out worse in the comparison. Maybe Auden was not put down and needs no defense, but I rise to question what seem to be erroneous conclusions or misreadings.

Mr. Materer says that Auden has no "direct relationship to God" and no "personal awareness of God's love." What is more personal and direct than

"O Living Love, by your birth we
are able
Not only, like the ox and ass of
the stable,
To love with our live wills, but
love,
Knowing we love."

(For the Time Being, At the Manger, *Collected Longer Poems*)

No man without an intimate awareness of God could have said

"Though written by Thy children
with
A smudged and crooked line,
Thy Word is ever legible,
Thy Meaning unequivocal,
And for Thy Goodness even sin
Is valid for a sign."

("For the Time Being," The Summons)

Mr. Materer's remark, "For Merton, his redemption is at hand; for Auden, it may possibly be coming, but who can really be sure?", seems open to question in view of Auden's

"Remembering the stable where for
once in our lives
Everything became a You and
nothing was an It."

and

"He is the Truth.
Seek Him in the Kingdom of
Anxiety;

(Continued on page 71)

NEWS & VIEWS: 50 **CORRESPONDENCE: 51**
***EDITORIALS:* 51**
***BENIGN NEGLECT FOR EDUCATION TOO:* Maurice R. Berube 52**
***THE FINAL SOLUTION FOR COLLEGE UNREST:* Philip M. Kayal 53**
***A GRAND STRATEGY . . . FOR 1960:* William Pfaff 55**
***IS THERE ANY HOPE FOR LITURGY?:* Gerard S. Sloyan 56**
***THE STARS AND STRIPES FOREVER:* Edward R. Cain 61**
***VERSE:* John Fandel; Stanley McNail 60**
***THE STAGE:* Gerald Weales 62** ***THE SCREEN:* Annette Michelson 63**
***BOOKS:* 65**

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WORLD LAW, WORLD COURT

Old nativist worries about outside influences on the American system refuse to fade away, much less die. They are with us all over again in connection with the proposed ratification of the Genocide Convention, a pact unanimously adopted 22 years ago by the UN General Assembly, endorsed since by 75 nations, and still effectively resisted in the U.S. on the contention that the Convention could inject an alien authority into the workings of justice in this country. The latest manifestation of this paranoia was the vote in Atlanta of the American Bar Association's house of delegates. The house of delegates responded precisely as it did in 1949 to dark talk about surrender of sovereignty and mischievous undermining of American jurisprudence; it opposed ratification—an action which prompted Strom Thurmond to proclaim how "proud" he was to be a member of the bar.

In so many respects the whole affair is a pathetic repetition of the neutralizing of another vital instrument of international justice—the World Court. The Court has been in existence since 1922, but U.S. participation in its affairs has ultimately been defeating because of the U.S. amendment withholding from the Court any say on domestic disputes "as determined by the United States of America." The clause satisfies America-first folks; but it also emasculates the Court, for the privilege the U.S. claims for itself sets a pattern for others to follow. Thus the Court operates only at the lonely periphery of world problems, and then but occasionally; presently it does not have a single case on its docket.

Negative or indecisive action on the U.S.'s part does not, however, undermine the Genocide Convention in the same way the Connally Amendment undoes the World Court. The damage it does is to the nation's world image.

Why should anyone, least of all the righteous, be reluctant to subscribe to a pact outlawing genocide? Why, in particular, the United States? The prevailing fear among opponents of ratification seems to be that the Genocide Convention might be used to bring charges against American soldiers in connection with the war in Vietnam. The possibility is a remote one. But remote or not, to defer ratification on that basis is, as Nicholas Katzenbach has pointed out, to strengthen feelings that the U.S. has indeed committed genocide in that land. "It's going to be regarded around the world as having that simple-minded interpretation," Katzenbach argues.

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The proposal to ratify the Genocide Convention is currently with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The Committee is expected to act favorably on the measure, but the reception it will receive on the floor is another matter. Senator Proxmire labels the arguments strewn in the way of ratification as "somewhat more bogus than factual, somewhat more emotional then rational." And they are. Yet there is still the American Bar Association vote, and it will claim weighty influence in the Senate.

As a preliminary to Senate debate, some key details should be marked with regard to that vote, beginning with the narrowness of the "nay" (130 to 126) and the conservative composition of the house of delegates. More importantly, it should be noted that those divisions of the American Bar Association most directly concerned with the Genocide Convention—the standing committee on world order under law, and the sections on individual rights and responsibilities, criminal law, and international and comparative law—strongly favor ratification.

Credit for initiating steps to correct U.S. delinquency on the Genocide Convention belongs to Mr. Nixon, but the success of his proposal may require his energetic follow-through. Mr. Nixon need not be hesitant about this; he is on good ground. He might even broaden his objectives by asking a review of U.S. attitudes toward the World Court. The Court may be dormant, but it is not dead and no one is in a better position to invigorate it than the President himself.

Historically, Mr. Nixon seems so disposed. As Vice President in 1959, he called for such a review. His recent State of the World message disappointed those who felt that it presented the perfect opportunity to renew that thought and give further rounding to the principle of world peace through world law. That he did not does not necessarily mean that Mr. Nixon has changed his mind on an ideal as noble as it ever was. He may just need reminding.

Benign Neglect For Education Too

President Nixon's educational reform message to Congress is a classic example of how social science can be grossly misapplied for political purposes. As the President's urban affair *guru,* Daniel Moynihan, admitted the Nixon education message was based on the 1966 Coleman Study of public schooling, the second largest social science study in the United States commissioned by the 1964 Civil Rights Act. What Moynihan failed to mention was that, although the President accepted the logic of the Coleman Report, he conveniently forgot that study's clear implications.

Although the Coleman Report has come to mean different things to different people, the study has strong inferences for school reform. For most educational critics, the study shows that educational achievement flows from the background of pupils, rather than the efforts of schools, and that in fact the black poor achieve scholastically in mixed socio-economic settings. In short, the Coleman report constituted, in effect, the strongest case for school integration.

Others (including myself) have been more intrigued with the Coleman report's conclusion that the black poor achieve in school only when they feel they have some control over their destinies. Some educational critics, therefore, interpret the study as bolstering the case for community control of schools. But in no way does the Coleman Report imply a do-nothing policy. Which is precisely the interpretation that Nixon and Moynihan have given it.

One can not quarrel with some of the informed language and tone of Nixon's message; nor with the proposal for a "right to read" program or emphasis on early childhood education. But, the main thrust of Nixon's education message—to wait until the mystery of learning is solved before investing more government money —is social *laissez-faireism,* or in Moynihan's apt phrase "benign neglect." To hesitate until "we know why education works when it is successful" before making any "rational attempt to provide our every student with the best possible education" is to wait for Godot; one feels that the mysteries of birth and death will be clarified long before the mystery of learning is.

In a sense, the Nixon message can be considered as a part of Moynihan's revenge on his liberal critics. As chief architect for the President's message—and urban policy in general—Moynihan has succeeded in pushing his own social thesis to the chagrin of his liberal black and white critics. Moynihan's embodiment of a family-allowance and welfare-reform plan into Presidential policy was surely a social advance. Bitterly resentful of the charge of unconscious racism levied against his 1965 black family report for the Labor Department, Moynihan considered his welfare reform program a personal triumph. He told a *New York Times* reporter that he felt vindicated on a subject that "had spoiled my life" after "four long years of being called awful things" by "the people you would most want to admire you detesting you." One suspects that Moynihan suffered two traumas in his life: the desertion of his own father from his home, and the desertion of his liberal and civil rights friends when he released his black family report.

However, Moynihan's single thesis approach has slowed down progress in other areas. For some time Moynihan had been busily restudying the Coleman report in terms of his own theory; that is, attempting to link success and failure in schools not only to one's class background but to the lack of a father in a home (even though Coleman's strong evidence shows no such relationship). Applied to education, the Moynihan thesis

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simply says that blame for learning failures stems from the broken family. Coleman, moreover, stated that the major influence on pupils was their peers, and home influence on pupil achievement declined as youngsters entered their teens. The President's Education message reflects the pitfalls of single-theory academic policy advisers; for what is good policy for welfare reform is simply bad policy for school reform.

The President's mention of school integration in his message was merely a rhetorical flourish. Nixon not only failed to give school integration the emphasis his reading of the Coleman Report required, but dissociated integration and learning so that one can not make a causal relation between the two. Framed against the Nixon's government slowing down of *de jure* desegregation in the South, President Nixon's messages belies any commitment to integration.

Ironically, Nixon's Southern integration slowdown is receiving some help from former Northern integrationists-turned-community-control-advocates. Yale Professor Alexander Bickel in a controversial *New Republic* article sees no hope for school integration in the South and opts for community control since the "vanguard of black opinion, among intellectuals and political activists alike, is oriented more toward the achievement of group identity and some group autonomy." And CORE's Roy Innis has sought to bypass the integration fight by playing on the racism of Southern governors in hopes that they will grant a community-controlled school system in lieu of school integration. At present, most educational resources for black schools are controlled by white elected school boards and are shortchanged compared to the white schools.

But the community control analogy for the South limps. For one thing, the movement of blacks to control schools in the cities began *after* integration was no longer feasible in the North because of residential patterns and the defeat of large-scale busing plans. (In the North it was disillusioned black integrationist leaders who led the ranks for community control, and white *critics* of integration.) That prospect is still open in the South where segregation is not so much a result of housing patterns. Moreover, there is real question whether either Southern blacks or their leaders are as advanced in the black militant movement as their Northern counterparts. One indication is that CORE's Innis has based his strategy on converting the Southern governors rather than rallying large groups of Southern blacks.

All of which enables Nixon to establish his stand-pat policy with a minimum of countervailing pressure. Meanwhile, one must wait for the proposed National Institute of Education's solving of the learning mystery. And it seems like it is going to be a long wait.

MAURICE R. BERUBE

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The Final Solution For College Unrest

Notre Dame College of Staten Island has "closed" amidst a flood of controversy. The College will seek a "new academic plan," "restructure" its Board of Trustees, yet admit no freshman class in the fall of 1970. All this comes eight months after the Middle States Evaluating Team declared the present academic program initiated by Dean Carson W. Veach and his faculty as one of the finest for small colleges in the state. The reason for the closing, given by the Board, was "bad financing." Faculty and students, however, are almost universal in the belief that it was the character of the new programs at the College which frightened off the conservative and reactionary Board.

For the first 30 years of its existence, Notre Dame was a "Catholic finishing school." Staffed predominantly by post-Trentine nuns, theology reigned as the "queen science" and the student body was completely and intentionally Catholic in composition and outlook. The school's narrowness and lack of academic imagination, however, almost ended in loss of accreditation. Consequently changes were made which brought the college into the mainstream. To begin with, a Woodrow Wilson fellow with a Harvard degree was brought in as academic dean. He in turn recruited a superb faculty with the understanding that they would "participate in creating a first-rate college." The new, highly professional faculty was, however, not always Catholic. The chairmen of the Social Science and Theology-Philosophy Divisions were both Jewish, as were a number of the faculty. The student body was broadened to include Blacks and Puerto Ricans (13 percent), unwelcome in the preceding years. Theology requirements were reduced in the hope of encouraging interested students to elect courses in this discipline. The Board, jealous of its authority and the "image" of the school, resisted the changes throughout.

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Thus, when the school faced legitimate financial problems in mid-October, the president, Sister Rita Donahue, C.N.D., vacillating between public approval and private hostility to the changes, was unable to solicit funds successfully from either the Archdiocese of New York or the Congregation of Notre Dame (Montreal). When it became obvious that President Donahue had failed as fund-raiser and administrator (she had a serious predilection for snapping her fingers at students when they were too slow to obey), the faculty began to protest her presence. If the school was to survive, it was felt that new leadership would be needed and that role would naturally fall to the dean. Rather than bow to pressure, the president fired the three chairmen who had been the most vocal in pointing to her incompetence. The Academic Dean resigned, whereupon 80 percent of the faculty and administration, including 60 percent of the religious on campus, followed suit.

Faced with the distasteful task of closing the school under faculty pressure, the Board accepted the resignation of the president. In her place and without the consultation of faculty or students, they placed in charge Dr. Francis Kilcoyne (of Brooklyn College fame), a distinguished educator (but admittedly bad fund-raiser). The Board, however, had already decided—apparently with the encouragement and approval of the Archdiocese —to close the school and start afresh. Kilcoyne admits that he was unable to shake the Board's fear of the dean, his faculty, his programs, and, for all practical purposes, his students.

Thus, when the reorganization was announced on Feb. 25, it became obvious that the dean, an entire faculty, student body and vision had been dismissed! It was a rather unique way of settling educational tensions: remove the "troublesome" student body and "radical" faculty. Money that was repeatedly requested from the Chancery office to help the college operation, but which had been denied, was suddenly made available to close it. The faculty, in desperate need of employment, were kept waiting until the end of February, only to be told that they would no longer be welcomed. The desperation of the faculty took its toll in human terms: the hospitalization of the chairman of social science, Professor Jules Levey, and the resignation of three of the younger, more dismayed nuns from the Congregation.

Upon becoming aware that the Notre Dame College they helped create would no longer be, students forced the educational process to a standstill. Plans were laid for a fund-raising campaign in the general community. "Money power" it was felt would force the Board to reopen the school and would entitle students and faculty to representation on that Board where they would help elect a new president, who in turn would be able to raise the remaining needed funds. An obvious choice of students and faculty would be the dean, who has survived several slander campaigns aimed at discrediting him. (The latest tactic of the Board was to cancel both the second mortgage on his home and his children's tuition remission at Notre Dame Academy, sponsored by the same Congregation as the one at the College.)

In the interim, faculty fears of the takeover of the college by the Archdiocese were confirmed by the withdrawal of sponsorship by the Congregation of Notre Dame and by the visitations of various Chancery personnel to several clandestine meetings of select members of the Board. Conservative members of the community apparently convinced Msgr. Kelly, secretary of education for the Archdiocese, that the changes at Notre Dame were leading to "oversecularization." Seemingly a "Catholic college" on Staten Island can exist only if the Protestant dean and non-Catholic faculty are removed, and if more theology courses are required. As one skeptical faculty member indicated: "If Diocesan officials really wanted a 'Catholic college' on Staten Island why did they not support an already flourishing enterprise? Do they really think that it would be easier to 'wipe out the mess' and start afresh?" Apparently they do.

The students, however, took the initiative March 2 and called a meeting of all concerned parties to a public hearing. Special seats for the Board were arranged on stage but were only half filled. The office of the Board chairman—a mysterious and unseen Mr. E. Smith—announced that he was unavailable; he will return from an extended vacation sometime in March. Understandably students and parents were outraged at the lack of urgency shown by the Board. Tension was heightened when acting-President Kilcoyne announced publicly for the first time that a "different" school would re-open. Almost immediately $10,000 was raised from the floor to save the College as it is. The money was pledged with the proviso that the school, its dean, faculty and students (all of whom received standing ovations) would not be uprooted. The Board, after considerable hedging, elected to "individually support" the plans outlined by the students. But when pressed as to a meeting at which they would reconsider their own earlier decision, March 16 was the earliest date available. Meanwhile faculty solidarity would be weakened by their need to find immediate employment.

Ironically there can be no real victor in all of this. The students might raise enough money to "reopen" the school, but it assuredly will have a different faculty and administration. The Board and its supporters, on the other hand, are faced with a hostile Staten Island community, which understands that the changes at Notre Dame were necessary for its continuance as an academic institution, and were not made at the expense of moral and religious values. PHILIP M. KAYAL

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A GRAND STRATEGY . . . FOR 1960

The Nixon Administration's February message to Congress on foreign policy amounted to a signal of glacial movement, a marker of geological time in American national life. The long accumulation of globalist presidential rhetoric going back 50 years, the sententious declarations of American national concern for every interest and ill of the world, now is brought to a halt. It now is officially declared that America will not, as Mr. Nixon phrases it, "conceive *all* of the plans, design *all* of the programs, execute *all* of the decisions, and undertake *all* the defense of the free nations of the world."

So colossally obvious a disavowal ought not excite comment, except that presidential rhetoric makes policy, and rhetoric past needed explicitly to be undone by rhetoric present. Thus the practical effect of the presidential statement is to provide the vast reaches of American diplomatic and military officialdom with an undistinguished but comprehensive statement of what they are supposed to say to foreigners, to do, and to promise. It translated to the bureaucracy that shift in the national mood which has come to be called neo-isolationism—towards a policy which might more accurately be named that of austere and pragmatic interventionism.

The proprietorial grandiosity with which the White House first described the document—the President's message on "the State of the World"—betrayed a lingering ambivalence over America's proper role. Certainly those of us who have for a decade or more been critics of the messianism and pious authoritarianism of American policy will not find the statement terribly satisfactory, nor, of course, can it have much meaning for a newer generation of radical and neo-Marxist critics. The message, unsurprisingly, expressed essentially a tactical reformulation of American policy and goals. But in politics tactics have the power to impose goals, as we have painfully learned from our recent years of colonial war. And official definitions of reality also impose goals; perhaps the most significant specific point contained in the Nixon message was its statement that the international unity of the Communist bloc has been shattered by nationalism. That this event occurred in the mid-1950s is, so far as government policy is concerned, beside the point; it now has been declared by the President to be a reality.

But does a document like this, issued at this late date in the decline of American imperial ambition, really make a difference? There is a time when moderate and constructive changes make sense, and there is a time when they are futile. The time for a Nixon-style redirection of our policy was a decade ago, at the beginning of the Kennedy Administration. Instead, we had an ambitious reassertion of American world authority which prepared for us our present calamitous situation. The Nixon policy promises to cure ills long since submerged into a major crisis—not merely of foreign relations but of political legitimacy and the competence of liberal government.

When Richard Nixon came to office it was possible to believe that, like the hedgehog, he had come to understand one thing: that this war had to end. All of the other forces which are corroding American public life have their links to this politically misbegotten and morally corrupting war. Mr. Nixon was said in those days greatly to admire Charles de Gaulle. But it seems that he did not admire de Gaulle enough to learn from him. The supreme quality of de Gaulle in the 1950s was that he understood one great thing: that the Algerian war, which had corrupted French affairs for a decade, had to be ended. He did end it. He did so at the cost of an army mutiny, an insurrection by the Algerian French, and a powerful terrorist campaign within metropolitan France. He was devious, deceptive, Aesopian in what he said and in how he acted. He attempted to muffle and blunt the irreconcilable forces which tore at France and which had paralyzed every earlier French government. But he understood that the deed had to be done, and he would not be stopped.

Mr. Nixon has failed this supreme but necessary test of political leadership in a time of crisis. No doubt he grasps what the war is doing to this country, and he certainly wants to end it. But he will not pay the price. He wants an easy solution; there is none. He wants a solution that can be disguised as a victory; the Vietnamese Communists will not give it to him. He wants a solution without tears.

So what the Nixon Administration says about the State of the World is betrayed by what it has not the courage to accomplish in Southeast Asia. Its good intentions are contradicted by its failure of nerve. And thus the war will grow worse after it has grown better—as already is happening in Laos.

A 17th-century Spaniard, writing of his country's century-long struggle to put down insurrection and secession in the empire's northern provinces, called the Netherlands "the graveyard of Spain." It was, as we know now, no exaggeration at all. Today, under Mr. Nixon's calculating but ultimately unrealistic guidance, we continue to populate another foreign graveyard, one which already is close to the moral engulfment of our nation.

WILLIAM PFAFF

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IS THERE ANY HOPE FOR LITURGY?

The new rite will come as a disappointment to apostles of relevance

GERARD S. SLOYAN

Last November 30, the first Sunday of Advent, was the earliest date on which any regional episcopate in the West was free to inaugurate the use of the New Order of Mass, promulgated by Pope Paul VI on April 3, 1969. The bishops of Italy and France took advantage of the early target date. Those of the United States have waited until Passion Sunday (formerly Palm), March 22, 1970, and some a few weeks later, to inaugurate the "changes." They deferred the inaugural date for the practical reason that English translations were not yet available in their entirety. This task of translation is in the hands of the International Committee on English in the Liturgy. The work has been done by a team of scholars from the major English-speaking countries under the chairmanship of Cardinal Gordon Gray of Edinburgh and St. Andrews. The complete text of the New American Bible (formerly known as the Confraternity Version), that is, with its never before available New Testament, will be ready for pulpit use on March 22.

Newspaper readers will recall wirephotos and reports on the way the beleaguered Pope spent last November 30 being demonstrated against on home grounds. Italian conservative groups accorded him the standard placard treatment, accompanied by the distribution of pamphlets in St. Peter's Square. It was a particularly cruel irony for the Pope to be accused of betraying the faith in the area of liturgy, where, as members of the post-conciliar Consilium can testify, he has adhered to the traditions of the past four centuries with a special tenacity.

The changes as they stand are so infinitesimal that one may wonder, when invited to pray them, what all the excitement was about. A new three-year cycle of scripture readings—an Old Testament one as well as fresh selections from epistles and gospels—is potentially the most influential innovation in prospect. Second to it in importance will come the revised prayers: of the day, over the gifts, and after communion. These the Congregation for Divine Worship has promised but has not yet made available. If the prayers provided in the marriage rite are any indication of what to expect, there will be an all-round tightening and a modest improvement without any special attempt to bite into the modern consciousness. Likewise promised but not yet completed are new "people's chants," a term to describe entrance, gradual, offertory, and communion verses—surely among the most painful parts of the present rite. None of the above three touches on the sequence of the rite or its normally unchanged portions (which are only slightly altered), any more than do the twenty-two revised prefaces newly available and the three already familiar additional canons.

It may be that the changes are so slight, apart from the scripture readings, that they will have no significant effect for good or ill. The Catholic population around the globe has prayer needs that are extremely various and that go much deeper than anything as yet provided for by the Roman authorities.

How much has the situation been improved for priests and people by this particular rite? No answer is available until the one provided by usage emerges. Yet the quality of that usage is at least as important as the texts. There is good reason to conclude that unless the general quality of liturgical celebration improves, nothing noteworthy is to be hoped for. It is not simply a matter of the confining

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nature of fixed forms, as some hold. It is the prayerful character that underlies, or is absent from, all liturgies fixed or fluid.

As to the revised rite itself, it is spare and ascetic in an age of sentiment and superstition; it is also a retreat toward symbolic expressions of reality at a time when the prevailing culture is literal and scientific. The new rite prays as if modern believers had the mysteries of faith already available to them in their biblical expression, which is anything but the case. Genocide, repressive dictatorships to the right and left, overpopulation and undernourishment, the hate of brother for brother, and feats of material and spiritual progress never before achieved are part of man's recent past. Yet none of this can be discerned from the rite. It leaves all such matters to the homilist's skill (and quite properly, according to W. H. Auden in a recent issue of *Life*), to the gift of the musician, to the talent of the congregation to compose prayers that express its needs. The whole attempt lets us know that contemporaneity has been sacrificed to doctrinal security. This has taken place in an age in which the major question for many believers is whether the one can be had apart from the other.

It is clear that the new rite will come as a disappointment to apostles of relevance who had expected nothing from it in the first place. The three new canons had in a sense already sealed an end to their hopes. Any subsequent "tinkering" with ancient forms could do nothing to dispel their gloom. Despite their strictures, however, the fact is that very little liturgical poetry—or prose—of merit has appeared except that done in traditional molds. Of the six or eight preface-canons of the last decade that are fit to rank with those of the Roman renewal (one thinks of those in the new service books of the United Presbyterian Church and the Consultation on Church Union, the latter very close to one of the three new Roman ones, and three or four of private Catholic authorship), all are related to classic forms. All succeed in the measure in which they are beholden to the past. There may be better exemplars abroad than have come into print, or unrecorded eucharistic prayers of worth by nameless bards. This can neither be affirmed nor denied. On the other hand, inferior canons in print and lengthy elaborations of the obvious—marked by a spontaneity that is not spontaneous but only unprepared —are much abroad.

There is room in the new Missal, according to the decree of the Second Vatican Council, "for legitimate variations and adaptations" [*Sacrosanctum Concilium*, art. 38]. The United States, after five years, still awaits circumstances of the American people—if one does not include a funeral rite, the texts of Masses for Thanksgiving Day and peace, and a rite for parish missions. This country has witnessed chiefly the approval of I.C.E.L. translations of rites provided by Rome (though, to its credit, the U.S. hierarchy has been the chief backer of the translation project). Its bishops have vetoed several rites composed by their own subcommittee charged with this responsibility—among them a Mass text for small children. The biggest step taken by the bishops on the subcommittee's initiative has been the approval of three centers for research in pastoral liturgy: St. John's University, Collegeville, Minn., the University of Notre Dame, and the Woodstock (Md.) Center for Religion and Worship in New York. An extensive report on the need for such centers prepared by subcommittee member Robert Ledogar, assisted by Noreen O'Connor, led to their adoption by the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy.

This failure to comply with the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy in any substantive way has begun to cost us dear. Others than the Bishops' Committee have filled the vacuum. Enterprising individuals and publishers have produced a variety of preface-canons, prayers, prayers of the faithful, and non-scriptural readings of some quality and no quality. Like certain hymns being written for use at Mass (one hesitates to compromise the word "folk"), some of these products begin to prevail. Politics has an old saw to cover the situation: "Any candidate can beat no candidate." Because all vacuums are filled, Kahlil Gibran is emerging as a leading figure in Catholic liturgical renewal. And Kahlil Gibran has nothing to say, though he says it exquisitely.

The whole spirit of conciliar liturgical reform favors the initiative of regional churches. If no official leadership is provided, maverick attempts will crop up. Meanwhile ordinary, unimaginative celebrants (which describes most of us) will always celebrate in the same way and claim that they have the law on their side.

In fact, however, the law is on the side of the innovative regional hierarchies; those which fail to consult the "circumstances and genius" of their people (the phrase is Pope Paul's, in his letter of promulgation) fall outside the law. Because diocesan clergies are controllable groups, little initiative can be expected from them. Otherwise, working in teams, they would comprise the normal source of pastoral innovation. University communities and "groupy" groups will fill the breach—neither to be discounted out of hand, but neither feeling directly the more general pulse, whatever that may be.

Serious sociological studies of attitudes to liturgical change are badly needed to tell us where we stand with adult populations. The important studies that need to be done are costly. As yet the only official funds to have been voted or spoken of would total the annual salary of a researcher and a half-time secretary. Once completed, such studies are likely to document the assumption that success and failure correlate high with priestly interest and disinterest in the question, and more highly still with episcopal concern. Such studies would at least settle some arguments as to "whether the people like the changes or not." People like to do reasonable things reasonably well. They require some feeling of security

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in ventures that are important to them. The quality of clerical attitude and educational and musical expertise is undoubtedly the chief factor in people's satisfaction or lack of it with forms of public prayer.

This fact in turn brings attention to the relationship between the priests who are (or were) skilled at liturgical leadership and their continuing availability in this role. How much disenchantment with the priestly state has been caused by the inability to exercise its central function on post-conciliar terms? No one knows the answer to that question. Yet it is at the heart of the renewal of a sacramental community.

The Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy has had a supremely knowledgeable secretary in Father Frederick R. McManus, dean of the School of Canon Law at the Catholic University of America. His office produces a newsletter which transmits the content of the Consilium's *Notitiae* in English and in general promulgates the settlements arrived at by the Congregation for Divine Worship. Father McManus, along with I.C.E.L.'s secretary until lately, Fr. Gerald J. Sigler, has been the target of many arrows from the radical right. Paradoxically, he has not been called on to make a contribution anything like the one he is capable of while in that office. One may even say that officially he has been expected to do nothing.

Many diocesan liturgical commissions have been reduced to impotence over the past few years and a few are downright anti-liturgical. Communications from such quarters tend to be the current legislation spelled out without pastoral hints, experiences shared, or pitfalls indicated. A noteworthy exception to this uninspiring scene is the consistently creative Chicago commission. Those of Peoria, Louisville, Cleveland, and New York, Brooklyn, and Rockville Centre working jointly, also come to mind. Heroic efforts continue to be made by certain commission members to increase the quality of parochial celebration. Lately, meeting at El Paso, the commissions formed an organization and elected the well-informed James Shaughnessy, a Peoria pastor, as their head. In general, however, the commissions are doing little because little is expected of them.

In the midst of this widespread inactivity, the Liturgical Conference continues to be the chief educational agency to rise to the challenge of the times.

The Conference is a thirty-year-old association founded by Roman Catholics which has long since ceased to be exclusively Catholic in membership. In its early days it took some pains to elect bishops as its presidents. They have continued to serve on its board of directors over the years. Discovering bishops who show an active interest in liturgical prayer—not on the Conference's terms but on any terms—has not been an easy matter.

Discovering people interested enough in the liturgy to become members for an annual fee of $10 is another question. Membership rose from 5300 to 9650 between August 1968 and November 1969. The budget has gone from $180,000 to $410,000, much of it in support of publications and new projects.

Like many such movements the Liturgical Conference traditionally had a prophetic stance. At no time was it universally hailed for its proposals regarding liturgical reform but neither was it scorned. Largely it was ignored. The first and second sessions of the Council made it impossible to ignore it for its members were informed on matters that no one else had much specialized knowledge about. The legislation incorporated into the constitution *Sacrosanctum Concilium* bore a remarkable similarity to a series of proposals drawn up at the Liturgical Week in London, Ontario, in 1956, seven years before (Mass facing the people, liturgy in the people's language, a new lectionary, congregational song, etc.).

The August Liturgical Weeks of 1963 (Philadelphia) through 1967 (Kansas City, Mo.) were devoted to popular education in a popular cause. Such had been anything but the case with the first twenty-three annual meetings. During the five-year period in the 'sixties, numbers of clergy who came to learn what to do about the conduct of their office swelled the attendance out of all former proportions. In Baltimore, Portland (Oregon), and Chicago in 1965, Houston in 1966, and Kansas City in 1967, the tenor of the Liturgical Weeks was one of doing a needed job of popular instruction.

New Concerns

A change came in Washington in 1968, with the decision to conduct the Liturgical Weeks independently of the diocese where the convention city was located. This was done largely to recover independence, not of the general law but of local interpretations of it. Up to this point the host diocese had absorbed a good measure of the expenses in order to educate the people of the area. This willingness of a generation of bishops to pay for what they could not control is admirable and should be hailed for the unique feature of Catholic life that it was.

A second change was the decision to celebrate in other musical media than organ, choir, and classic hymnody. Modified jazz in the Black idiom was chosen for 1968, biblical lyrics set to rock (soft, not hard) in 1969. The Weeks have never incorporated the folk idiom into their major celebrations.

A third and historic change was the decision to attend to the realities of the social order as an integral part of the major talks and special-interest sessions. The awareness that dimly dawned on the Conference's leadership was that unless the Church started praying about a few right things in today's world it might better not be praying at all. The scandal of the churches has been their general unconcern for the disadvantaged. This scandal peaks each Sunday when largely white congregations assemble to pray—unconsciously, perhaps, though much

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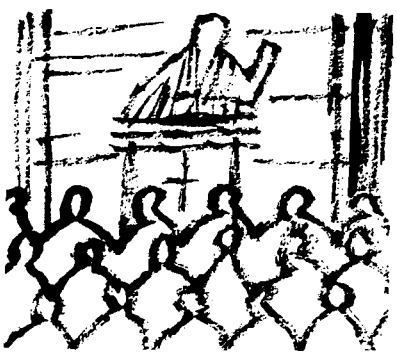
of the evidence is in the other direction—"against" their brothers. The ghostly performance of a renewed liturgy that was learning how to pray better without preaching or action to match came home to the Conference as a painful anomaly. Its leaders began to grow concerned for the mentality of their own membership. "I don't know what they do to the enemy," the Duke of Wellington once said after reviewing his troops, "but, by God, they scare me."

The membership of the Conference previous to August 1968 proved to be almost as compartmentalized in its thinking as the Christian body at large. Some surprising hate-mail was received that spring when Martin Luther King's picture appeared in the monthly bulletin, *Liturgy*.



He had accepted the task of being the opening-night speaker at the Washington Week. King's place was taken by Andrew Young, Ralph Abernathy's chief theoretician in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Also on the program were Floyd McKissick and Saul Alinsky, Dorothy Day, and Communist academic Herbert Aptheker and Catholic theologian Eugene Bianchi in dialogue. Along with these attention-drawing figures there was the regular interest devoted to various aspects of liturgical celebration and education. Four theologians addressed the full assembly. Despite this attempt at balance, the Week threw those in attendance for a loss. "What has this got to do with liturgy?" summed up the dismay. Any number of those who came said that they were, of course, committed to social action but; to racial justice but; to relevance and commitment but.

Last year's Week in Milwaukee continued in the same direction. Robert McAfee Brown and Abraham Joshua Heschel spoke from the theological and religious community, Wayne Morse and Benjamin Spock about the war, Andrew Young of SCLC and Milwaukee Black Panther leader Dakin Gentry and his lieutenant on race, Donald Peterson, Wisconsin Democratic state chairman, on political process. A day was devoted to bus trips to eighteen "signs of hope" in the Milwaukee area. Many at the various centers told it to the visitors so straight that large numbers of them wondered if "signs of hope" represented truth in packaging.

The one charge against the Conference most difficult to comprehend is that it is not doing anything directly pertaining to the liturgical education of priests and people. Anyone who says that cannot have been keeping in regular touch. A two-year old homily service has made available to the pulpits of the country some meat for chewing rather than the milk of babes. The monthly bulletin *Liturgy* offers more hints on celebration than the normal parish clergy or worship committee can implement. *Living Worship*, edited by Robert W. Hovda, represents the most intelligent and articulate view in favor of hierarchy and sacraments in conjunction that those two besieged institutions receive. There are monthly publications on the parish council and of new songs for use in worship, and most recently a loose-leaf book entitled *Manual of Celebration*. Written by Father Hovda, it provides priests and liturgy teams with the helps they need in coping with the New Order of Mass, the much altered baptismal and funeral rites, and the marriage rite.

It is widely and erroneously supposed in some quarters that there exists a large pool of clergy that is thirsting for guidance in celebration without the extraneous complication of the demands of the gospel. So far as can be discovered through normal channels, their existence is mythical. Those who care, care about the two in tandem. There are frighteningly large numbers of priests—if reports from around the country are to be trusted—who simply have no interest in celebrating. They have other interests to which helpless congregations are subjected regularly. The column "Cry Pax" in the *National Catholic Reporter* has succeeded in erecting the parish bulletin into a literary genre. Pastors who can write like that can speak like that—and at greater length.

Knowing what we do about the present Catholic Church situation, U.S.A., what are our expectations with respect to public worship? In other words, "What hope for liturgy?"

The answer seems to be increased polarization—except that that figure connotes numerical twoness. Splintering describes the reality better. There is in prospect an inverse ratio of conformity to the proposed rites to ethical and doctrinal diversity, and of creative departure from them to adherence to the Catholic center. The reason is not as complicated as it sounds. The celebrant who will not put anything of himself into the rites, as the various "general introductions" tell him to do, will have to compensate somehow. Not having devoted any effort to exploring the texts and directives, he will preach or comment at length on convictions derived from other sources. His mental energies are likely to be channeled in a single direction: anti-communism, women's dress, hyper-patriotism, or the church as a partisan allegiance. The possible divergences from the gospel are many, if not rich. They will account for the fragmentation. The unity of faith hoped for through the repetition of unchanging forms, on the other hand, will not sufficiently overcome the dull variety of views of Christianity that will tend to replace the ancient faith.

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For those celebrants—aided by teams working hard at the business of celebration—who attempt a repertoire of creative variety, the unity of faith will be accessible. That will be so because the basing-points are good, namely the prayers in a revised liturgy which look faithfully to our past if not to our present. The liturgical revisions recently provided challenge worshippers to do better, as the *Manual of Celebration* makes clear.

The assumption that teams will be charged with a function in the prayer of a parish may strike some readers as a message from the moon. Bishops are already feeling a priest-shortage, numerically speaking. They almost dare not inquire into its proportions, qualitatively speaking. There the desolation is doubled or trebled. Thousands of families still troop from parking lot to pew five and eight times a Sunday to participate in—nothing. The Gallup poll reported at last year's end that 42% of adult U.S. Catholics had attended Mass within the seven days before the inquiry. The percentage will probably drop sharply in the next five years. The churches to fare best will doubtless be the bastions of reaction and the few centers of liturgical prayer. A large number in between will have to be phased out.

It is not likely that the bishops will put leadership in public prayer into the hands of those parishioners most capable of carrying it out, namely the unordained who are capable of good celebration and preaching and the well-married but newly ordained, who are ordained precisely to enable them to lead the eucharistic community. They will probably not be any more successful than at present in retaining the active services of clergy with a taste for liturgical celebration. There will only be fidelity to that "most eminent jewel" in the crown of the West and the empty churches for the jewel to shine in

What of the settings for worship such as underground churches, free ministries, and the like? If by these is meant extra-legal assemblies led by juridically unaccredited ministers, priestly or lay, they do not seem to have any better future than celebration within the church establishment. This writer does not wish to question the power of the Spirit, but he is convinced that such groupings do not have enough social dynamism for staying power. They can survive only if they slip sideways into larger sectarian movements. Presumably some will.

It seems to be a different matter entirely whether "house churches" kept on a loose rein by ecclesiastical authority might flourish. They should have a good prospect in the short run; one hesitates to predict their situation in the long. Genuine ecumenical activity, both sanctioned and powerlessly observed, will be an important factor in both of the above situations.

As to leadership in all this, one hopes that it will come from those whose office is defined by responsibility with respect to Word and Eucharist. As things stand, this is not the case. The Liturgical Conference, which is quite clear it has no such role, is the major contender for leadership. It will continue to be turned to, *faute de mieux*. Active repudiation of this group will likewise continue. It will survive and grow, however, because it is the only large and stable agency within church structures which at present is doing anything about public prayer.

Publishers can be expected to make their contribution, and journals like *Worship* to do their important part. Leadership, however, will come from those Christians in all ranks who make it clear that the prayer of Christ in his brothers is their great concern.

Such interested parties probably will continue to produce a little bad theater (the most serious charge that can be leveled against recent Liturgical Weeks). But any group or movement that continues to heed the cry of the poor will continue to lead in good prayer.

No one else will know how.

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JOHN FANDEL

THREE VIEWS

1:
The rustle his stirring
color
he hides in
rusts grass.

2:
The moon on the mullein
silver
he streaks in
dews fields.

3:
The floss of a breathing
velvet
he sleeps in
dens earth.

● ● ● ● ● ● ●

STANLEY MCNAIL

GREAT BIRDS PASSING

And did you feel
precisely at that instant
the strong pull
of the tidal sweep
made by those giant wings?
Somewhere
beyond orbit or horizon
they build their eyries
where their young cry
among steep crags
with a hunger lost and terrible.

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THE STARS AND STRIPES FOREVER

Flags on campus

EDWARD R. CAIN

Late one freezing night last December, a student at SUNY, Brockport, N. Y., came out of the local tavern to discover that his car would not start. Dressed in a light jacket, he rummaged around in the trunk of his car to find something to put over his shoulders for the cold walk back to campus. He found an old sleeping bag intertwined with an American flag. (The flag had been used weeks before in a photography class.) Striving for maximum bulk, the student imprudently threw both articles around his shoulders and hiked back to the dorms.

In mid-campus, he was stopped by the college security guards who objected to his use of the flag, moralized on student irresponsibility, and held forth on the lack of support of the boys in Vietnam. Words were exchanged, and the bearded youth was brought before the local police who were equally outraged by the student's impropriety. Next the student was brought over to the State Police barracks where, after consulting the FBI on the phone, it was decided to charge the culprit under Section 1425 of the New York State Penal Law which deals with the desecration of the flag. To accomplish this, the weary student was led to the home of the local justice of the peace where at 4:00 A.M. he was formally booked on the charge of defiling the flag. Maximum penalty for this misdemeanor is $1000 and one year's imprisonment.

This was just one of three flag cases which occurred in western New York State last year. Earlier a group of Hobart College students put on a production protesting the military-industrial complex. At the end of the skit, several students hauled a bathtub on stage, filled it with detergent and water, and washed a large American flag. It was then hung up to dry on a stage structure representing the military-industrial complex. After the audience had left, two members of the crowd lit tiny American flags which had been distributed before the performance. The Grand Jury indicted seven students for their part in these activities. Hostility toward the students was being expressed by the press and public officials months after the incident.

The third case involved a student publication at the Rochester Institute of Technology. A nude girl was photographed loosely draped in an American flag for the cover of a satirical student creation called *G.I. Joe Meets Wonder Woman*. In this instance, some conservative students instigated charges against the defilers.

These three cases raise some interesting points about interpreting and enforcing a law against the defilement or desecration of the flag. In the Brockport case, the student was not engaged in any act of dramatic protest. His campus reputation was purely social, not political. There was no audience. The episode took place at 2:00 A.M. Even if he had been engaged in a lark (which he denies), his offense at worst was an improper display of the flag. The flag was not being damaged, it was being embraced. (He could claim he was seeking the protection of his flag.) Certainly more damage is done to flags displayed in foul weather or flag decals weathering on car bumpers and singed by exhaust fumes.

As ill-considered as it might have been, the student's conduct here was simply utilitarian. There was misuse of the flag but hardly defilement, in the sense of making it impure or corrupt. Flags are frequently used inappropriately or tastelessly, for example, in commercial promotions. The Sun Oil Company's distribution of flag decals as an advertising gimmick is an offensive and tasteless use of the flag to many people. Others find the indiscriminate use of the flag at social gatherings offensive. In this Brockport case, we have use without display for effect. Only the accidental appearance of the security guards make it a public gesture, and then most unwittingly. Since there was no physical mutilation or conscious attempt at perverse effect, the arrest is very difficult to justify.

In the flag-washing case at Hobart, we run into the problem of the symbolic expression of free speech. This action seems quite innocent in light of the United States Supreme Court's decision in *Street v. New York*. In that case a black war veteran burned his own flag on a street corner near his home in response to the news that James Meredith had been shot. The court decided that Street's remarks as he burned his flag had been an integral part of the charge against him and a cause of his conviction. Since Street could not be punished for his words, his conviction was reversed.

Washing a flag is not as bad as burning one, and the symbolic act of purification is quite the opposite of defilement. It was a gesture of respect to suggest that the flag is an intrinsically honorable object which has been politically abused and soiled but is worthy and capable of being washed clean of its impure associations. The object

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of the students' contempt was not the flag but its unsavory exploitation. It was essentially an idealistic expression of hope, a commodity to be treasured among the young these days.

The RIT case raises the same issue of free speech and political satire even more clearly. The New York statute says, "This section shall not . . . be construed to apply to a . . . newspaper or periodical, on . . . which shall be printed, painted or placed, said flag . . . apart from any advertisement." But this fell on deaf ears in court, and the students responsible were convicted. Despite the heroic bosoms exposed by French Revolution matrons, the Monroe County Court was not going to have any nudity around the American flag. Given current standards of morality, it is difficult to understand how draping a flag over a nude for a photograph could lead to a criminal prosecution.

It is understandable for only one reason. The flag has become a religious object. The use of the word "desecration" makes this clear. It means "to divest of sacred character, treat with sacrilege, or profane." The same is true of "defilement," one of whose meanings is "to make ceremonially unclean." The elaborate protocol governing the display, observance, and care of the flag right down to a ceremonial folding lends the flag a character not too distant from that of the Host at communion. It is a blatant form of public idolatry which should have the Christian churches roaring in protest. In their literal fundamentalism, the flag-worshippers dismiss the idea of symbolism and believe the flag itself sacred, hence the demand for legislation to protect it as a religious article.

This idolatry baffles foreigners. Not even the authority-prone French, whose republican patriotic fervor matches ours, have felt the need for special protective legislation. A law against the defilement of national monuments covers the flag only indirectly under "other objects" used as public decoration. In all the pomp, tradition, and ceremony of British law, there is nothing remotely like an anti-desecration statute for the Union Jack. At the unveiling ceremony of the JFK Memorial in London, arrangements had been made for the British and American flags concealing the monument to be dropped to the ground. As soon as the flags hit the ground, Robert Kennedy rushed forward and scooped them up. The British were astonished.

While there has always been glorification and a great deal of rhetoric about the American flag, the practice of flag worship is not part of our early tradition. The pledge of allegiance to the flag does not come until 1892 (for the 400th anniversary of Columbus Day). Most of the state statutes against the desecration of the flag were enacted around World War I. All states now have them, and penalties range from none in New Hampshire to 25 years imprisonment in Texas. There is a National Flag Code (36 USC 171) detailing flag protocol which was enacted in 1942, but it contains no penalties. The American Flag Association dates only from 1941, and the United States Flag Foundation follows in 1946. Flag Day was not singled out for national observance until President Truman's time in 1949. The first Federal penalty against desecrating the flag (except for a D.C. statute) came last year with Congress' anti-flag-burning law.

Most of this flag fervor centers around our two World Wars. Even the program to get American flags into all schoolrooms is a crusade not launched until the 1920's. It was largely accomplished by the DAR and the American Legion. In the Southwest there was special assistance from the Klan which offered to supply school flagpoles topped with their initials "KKK." Other veterans groups, the Masons and similar fraternal orders, and a variety of patriotic associations joined the flag-worshipers.

In response Liberals and the Left tended to demythologize the flag and to insist on a secular and practical perspective. In their view a flag is a secular symbol of a nation's identity. It evokes memories of past glory but tends to block out past dishonor. Our pledge of allegiance is to a balance sheet of conduct. If at any time, the minuses outbalance the plusses in the eyes of conscientious citizens, it is mockery to force them into a gesture of praise. To be honored, a country must be honorable. Those who do not find this honor should at least be allowed their silence or their symbolic protest. Certainly the flag-washing at Hobart and the satirical use of the flag at RIT are reasonable expressions of symbolic protest. But until this is conceded by further judicial clarification, the Brockport episode will remain typical of the response of the American cult of flag-worshipers. Meanwhile, thousands of college students have assumed the concession and may not wait for the clarification.

KID STUFF

THE STAGE

There are some mild clerical jokes—new dispensation—in Robert Marasco's *Child's Play*, but the goings-on at St. Charles' School have little to do with the crisis of Catholic education as we know it in the pages of this magazine. It is true that the faculty of St. Charles' has lost control of the student body, but the boys (it's a high school) are apparently not motivated by any of the social and psychological pressures which keep most American schools and colleges bubbling. Except, of course, that pointless violence is as immediate as today's newspaper.

The unrest at St. Charles' is primarily theatrical—a means to suspense, to tension. The occasional gasps around me as I saw the play suggest that, for part of the audience, the devices were working, and the enthu-

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siastic first reviews of the play celebrated its virtues as good melodrama. Unhappily, I am almost immune to mechanically-induced surprise and not very susceptible to atmospheres of unanchored evil. The significant glances the boys exchange, the twisted arms the masters seem never to see, the malevolent milling on the stairways—all quickly establish that SOMETHING is afoot. Besides, the worried priests keep pointing at that SOMETHING and wondering aloud what it is that makes some of the boys offer themselves as victims, the others serve as obliging tormentors. There are other examples of obviousness that call doubt on Marasco and director Joseph Hardy as master melodramatists. When the gym teacher is warned several times not to leave the boys unwatched in the gym, only a singularly innocent theater-goer will be affected by the scream when it comes. When Hardy fills the pauses in the conversation with discreet, blazer-clad fright-figures moving in and out of the shadows, he overdefines the situation; an equivalent would be *The Innocents* with a visible Quint staring in the window all through the play.

Child's Play is not designed simply to retail an aura of horror. The main action is the uncovering of cause. It is obvious from the beginning that the source of the school's troubles can be found somewhere in the conflict between two lay teachers: avuncular Joe Dobbs, "the old man" as he likes to call himself, the English teacher who sees them all as his sons; and Jerome Malley, the martinet classics teacher whose commitment to the boys is, in his sour way, as deep as Joe's. The play is generally well if broadly acted—the performers telegraph as the direction and the script seem to demand—but Fritz Weaver's performance as Malley is beautifully crafted, as impressive a job as he has done since *The Chalk Garden*, particularly pleasing after a string of television roles in which he acted as though his make-up man were a taxidermist. Malley, it turns out, is a paranoiac like the one in Mr. Sammler's joke: "Perhaps, but that doesn't prevent people from plotting against me." The "old man," to protect *his* school, has been resorting to obscene calls and poison pens to drive Malley away; when he succeeds—by pushing Malley to suicide—he destroys the school as well. Or finishes its destruction for the corruptive SOMETHING has been Joe Dobbs's hate and the school is dead long before the doors close—so goes the summing-up, from the lips of the gym teacher, the other lay master, so recently a student at St. Charles' that Marasco can use him to define Dobbs and Malley, both of whom treat him as one of "you boys," and to clock the allegiance shifts within the school.

So the mystery is solved, but it does not seem to add up to much unless, like Madame Rosepettle at the end of *Oh Dad, Poor Dad*, we demand, *"What is the meaning of this?"* A metaphysical point with social overtones? The Sophoclean epigraph points to a "defiling thing" which must be driven from the land. Father Penny, the comic priest, after an epiphany in the lay john, says that the boys are genuinely possessed, and the ritual murder that seems to take place at the final curtain suggests that an exorcism is in process. Hate is infectious, the play says; once it is loosed it contaminates all who come in contact with it. This is a nice little bromide, liberal in spirit, and probably untrue as well, but I kept wanting to reach beyond it, to find a broader meaning in Dobbs and Malley. I half suspect that Marasco (after all, an ex-teacher) is up to something pedagogical—and perhaps political as well. Permissive Dobbs, the vehicle for all the commonplace of newspaper psychology, turns out to be the villain; Malley, the disciplinarian, is the victim. This may be no more than the good old mystery-story aboutface in which the guilty party is the one least suspected. In that case, Joe Dobbs' attempts to quiet the students and his fellow teachers, his refusal to believe that there is anything serious going on in the school are part of the diabolical plot of an evil foxy-grandpa. If Joe's protestations are genuine, if he really cannot see that he has destroyed the school he thought he was saving, there may then be a possible analogy with progressive education and liberal politics, a tendency to hang onto the civilized jargon long after the context has collapsed. That analogy, depending on how you slice it, is either radical or reactionary. Given Malley as hero by default, *radical* is an unlikely adjective.

If the interview with Marasco in the *New York Times* [Feb. 19] is to be trusted, then my suspicions are ungrounded. There is no whiff of serious social purpose in any of Marasco's remarks. "It is kind of, I guess, a 'Turn of the Screw' thing," the playwright said and, later, he defined the play as a "metaphysical kind of melodrama." As Herbert Blau once said about another drama, "no play is deeper than its witches." *(At the Royale)*

GERALD WEALES

BUNUEL ON PILGRIMAGE

THE SCREEN

In 1962 Luis Bunuel returned to France to direct *The Diary of a Chambermaid*, a fresh, indeed a unique, departure in an heroic career. Although Surrealism had not fulfilled its early cinematic aspirations, Bunuel's first three films, *Le Chien Andalou, L'Age d'Or* and *Las Hurdes* stand as monuments to those aspirations. They are, as well, Surrealism's most seminal achievements in film. These early works argued for the manner in which the conjoining of disparate entities, prescribed by Lautréamont and elaborated by Dali, Bunuel's collaborator, into the "critical paranoiac method," had generated a visual style, suggesting that montage, as it was developing

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The Logic of the ABM

NUCLEAR AGNOSTICS . . . challenge the fideist credo on several grounds. The major objection to Nixon's "measured deployment" proposal is its open-ended possibilities. For a corollary of fideist logic declares, "What can be, must be." If a thin system is feasible, then why not a thick one to be really sure. Indeed, once the Sentinel system gets its limited number of silos, it won't be all that difficult to lobby for more.

McNamara warned in 1967 . . . "If a weapons system works—and works well—there is a strong pressure from many directions to procure and deploy the weapon out of all proportion to the prudent level required. The danger in deploying this relatively light and reliable system is going to be that pressures will develop to expand it into a heavy Soviet-oriented ABM system."

Between nuclear fideism and agnosticism, there is the middle ground of nuclear realism. Nixon may be heading in that direction if he uses "measured deployment" as a bargaining position with the Russians. If he gambles on peace the way Pascal wagered on heaven, perhaps, the Sentinel will not be our early warning signal of doom.

—COMMONWEAL, March 28, 1969

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in advanced film-making of the '20s, was a metaphor for the creative process itself.

These three films had been followed by a 15-year silence, and that silence by the work produced mainly in Mexico between 1947 and 1962, a long middle period of valiant and brilliant struggle against the constraints of censorship, the limited budget, the largely provincial working context. *The Diary of a Chambermaid* surprised one with an elegance of aspect, a technical adroitness, a visual tact and subtlety unique in Bunuel's work. It is the strongest, densest, the most sophisticated projection of his social and political views. It is, above all, however, formally innovative in a manner for which none of the previous films had quite prepared one. The loving attention to the tonal values of black and white, to the rhythm of cutting, to the subtle and varied tension possible between sound and image were without precedent in Bunuel's films. *Diary* is the work of a master—a master in the French tradition. In this film, Bunuel's critical force and subversive wit are sustained by the narrative tradition of the *Chronique de moeurs*. The provincial household as seen in *Diary* constitutes, as it were, the other side of manor life as we had come to know it in that other masterwork of French film, *The Diary of a Country Priest*. (One might usefully compare the two interviews between priest and *châtelaine*, both revolving about the issues of repressed sexuality and marital fidelity as cornerstones of the Catholic family structure and moral order. Whereas Bresson's priest will say, "I do not reject their order, but I find it loveless," Bunuel will see that lovelessness as grounded in repression and issuing in fascism, necessitating a radical rejection of that order.)

Diary, however, has been followed by two films, *Belle de Jour* and, most recently, *The Milky Way*. Both are made in color, both depart from the narrative conventions of *Diary*. Both combine a return to a more specifically Surrealist narrative strategy with a considerably blander, more academic style and texture. In that blandness and that strategy, they evoke another relatively recent development within the history of Surrealist art: the later painting of Magritte.

Two pilgrims, then, are on their way from Paris to St. James of Compostella, and the route, known as *The Milky Way*, is the narrative space of their progress, marked by a series of encounters—detours if you like—into history, into a time which is that of church history seen as a dialectic of contestation and repression, heresy and dogma. The shuttling back and forth between past and present, between the real and the fictive, is predicated on that *spatial* continuity which sustains progress: a road. When we cross the border into Spain (at San Sebastian) the movement is arrested. Here the past is, so to speak, fully integrated into the present (dramatic) action. (In no country of Europe is the past indeed so determinant of the present.) That arrest marks the total fusion in a narrative continuum of two frameworks of

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reference, two temporalities. It is this strategy which evokes the ambiguous spatiality, the paradoxical illusionism of a painting such as Magritte's *Field Glass* (1963), in which a clouded sky, seen through the left-hand pane of a French window is perceived, through the juxtaposition of the entirely black interval separating it from the slightly opened right-hand pane through which we see that same sky, as the mere illusion of a sky, the painting of *trompe-l'oeil*. The result is a tension, a cramp in the beholder's mind, produced, in both film and painting by a twist of logic.

The mode of Bunuel's narrative, as distinguished from its logic, is that of the picaresque novel. Not since the early Aragon has a Surrealist produced a work of such classical aspect. Bunuel has, in fact, revived a genre, performed a task completed in literature by the 18th century; he has produced—in 1970—the perfect Voltairean *conte moral*. *Ecrasez l'Infâme* is the refrain which runs through this evocation of the heretic tradition and its repression, from Gnosticism through Jansenism. Bunuel seems to have taken for his text Voltaire's injunction to "destroy the flat speeches, the wretched sophistries, the historical falsifications, the contradictions, the numberless absurdities. Do something to prevent men of sense from becoming slaves to the senseless; the coming generation will have you to thank for its freedom and its sense of reason." The Surrealist, passionate in his allegiance to the non-rational, the non-discursive, ends by attacking dogma in the name of rationalism.

It is, however, the tension operative between the discursive and the trans-rational narrative logic which produces that disorientation which guarantees the interest of this film. Straightforward though his discourse may be, Bunuel's narrative structure, his Pilgrim's path, resembles nothing so much as the Möbius Strip.

As every schoolboy knows, to make a Möbius Strip you must take a fairly long, narrow strip of paper and glue it into a ring, having taken care, however, to twist it just once before joining the two ends. The result is a one-sided surface which possesses a number of interesting properties. Among these is a perfect continuity of inner and outer surface such that we are unable to differentiate between them. So it is with Bunuel's two most recent films; their narrative structures are predicated upon that twist which dissolves the demarcation between inside and outside, between past and present, between fact and fantasy.

If one adopts the Möbius Strip, as Elaine Caruth has very astutely proposed, as a metaphor for the psychic organization of the schizophrenic, one sees that Bunuel has moved from the aesthetic use of paranoia to that of schizophrenia. That movement constitutes the sub-text of Bunuel's development, a sub-text that charts the progress of a Passionate Pilgrim. ANNETTE MICHELSON

BOOKS

World development—a game of partners and pawns?

Partners in Development

LESTER B. PEARSON, *et al.*

Praeger, $7.95, paper, $2.50

MICHAEL HUDSON

In August 1968 the World Bank's new president, Robert McNamara, appointed Lester Pearson to head a commission whose conclusions, he correctly anticipated, would endorse the World Bank's "new conservatism." The commission's report is a morass of sophomoric prose, apparently intended to divert the reader's attention from the many controversies that have by now arisen concerning World Bank policy. In the words of the Washington *Post* review of October 5, "It reads like . . . well, like a long report; . . . an establishment pronouncement, not a maverick critique. . . . bypassing questions of the desirability or unavoidability of radical political and social change."

The commission's prescribed policy is for the Bank to continue financing poverty rather than the struggle out of poverty, through the palliatives of population control and transplanted technology with which to buy some more time in which to fend off the social-economic transformation so urgently called for today in the backward countries. The analysis is static and asocial, pinioned narrowly within its Malthusian mantle. And yet the report is more than that: in its political-strategic intent it is evil.

One is struck by the report's exclusively technological usage of the term "revolution." There is a Green Revolution, which turns out to be the introduction of new seed varieties, fertilizers and irrigation pumps to create a highly capitalized "agribusiness" enclave sector, rather than a peasant uprising as usually associated with the term. There is an Industrial Revolution, and indeed the report erroneously attributes the origin of modern economic development to the Industrial Revolution which began in England "some two hundred years ago," rather than to the agricultural transformations of the sixteenth century which in fact formed the preconditions for modern industrial development. There are of course assorted references to revolutions in transport and communications, medicine and other aspects of the "techno-

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logical revolution." But there is no reference anywhere to "revolution" in its political-social context. Instead, various euphemisms are employed.

The great problem in the backward countries today is that their food output has fallen behind their population growth. Indeed, they may be characterized as "backward" more in the agricultural than in the industrial sense, for until they undergo an agricultural revolution such as that which freed the expansive forces of capitalism in England, Germany, France, etc., they cannot expect to build a base on which to industrialize. Given the fact that population growth is indeed outpacing food output, necessitating a growing volume of imports which has become a primary factor in these countries' chronic balance of payments deficits, the solution must be either of two alternatives: (a) they may reduce their rate of population growth to match that of their inadequate food production, that is, to meet the constraints of their archaic forms of land tenure and associated agricultural backwardness; or (b) they may increase their food output to keep pace with their population growth through a process of agricultural modernization, while working to increase per capita earnings in the expectation that as incomes increase, the rate of population growth will decrease (a relationship that has been demonstrated for centuries in virtually every country of the world).

Policy (a) is conservative, intended to conserve the institutions of backwardness (and in this sense it is ultimately *re*volutionary). Policy (b) is evolutionary, as it sets out to repeat in the agriculturally backward countries the creation of an owner-operated farm sector upon which the industrial base may ultimately thrive, finding in it both a "home market" and a steady supply of labor.

Unfortunately, the Pearson Report endorses Mr. McNamara's neo-Malthusian heresy: it calls for mass population control measures to curtail demographic growth in the backward countries to that modest rate of gain which their archaic agricultural institutions can sustain. In order to maintain the integrity of these outmoded institutions, it calls for a Green Revolution, in the vain hope that an isolated agribusiness sector may be created to keep the unproductive population at least well-fed (and presumably content). Should these most modern farm techniques be successfully transplanted within the geographic borders of the agriculturally backward countries, to be sure, as little as 10-20 percent of the population might feed the remaining mouths. As a purely engineering problem, this is technologically possible.

However, what is *not* touched upon in the report is the fate of the mass of rural unemployment that will be displaced by this new enclave of modernity: will it become a massive rural exodus of untrained, unemployable labor (as it has become even in developed nations such as the United States) burdening the cities with an unmanageable social overhead? Is it to be left on the land to eke out subsistence livelihood on meager plots? Because the report's discussion is couched only in aggregate terms of "national" food output relative to "national" population (class structures and their problems not being acknowledged) none of these structural problems are recognized in the 400-page report.

Indeed, nowhere in the report is a transformation of the institutions of rural backwardness advocated: the Green Revolution is not social but purely technological. Population control and transplanted technology are put forth as *alternatives* to social modernization: only by curtailing population growth in the backward countries can the existing institutions of land tenure be sustained in the face of those truly revolutionary pressures which swept them away in Europe centuries ago.

The report calls for the backward countries to provide a "general climate for private activity. Disincentives to such activity should be identified and removed wherever consistent with legitimate national goals." In other words, the main growth-sector of these countries must fall into foreign hands, inevitably contributing to the chronic balance of payments deficits which continue to stifle their development. Where then is room for anti-trust regulation in these nations' laws, or for a full-employment act?

The world is now rich enough to afford the economic slavery of entire nations, supported in their archaic forms by donations from "the wealthier countries." The report recommends 1 percent of GNP of the "wealthy nations" be "given" (i.e., lent) abroad. Does the Pearson Commission feel no twinge of embarrassment at using the now-obnoxious term "aid" throughout the report with no qualifying quotation marks around it? "Aid" as defined by it is far from being any net economic burden for the developed countries. Indeed, the U.S. foreign aid program in 1968 showed a $1.2 billion *inflow* of foreign exchange, as interest and amortization on *past* aid (which absorb U.S. dollars on world foreign exchange markets) massively exceeded the modest foreign-exchange costs of this aid (virtually nil, save for "aid" of an essentially military nature, mainly to Southeast Asia). So great is this net balance of payments inflow to the United States on "aid" account that it has more than financed the deficit of U.S. "agency" expenditures abroad which play such a great role in extending and maintaining the American sphere of influence. Thus do the backward countries finance their own submission, and thus the U.S. foreign "aid" program has been one of the major sources of *strength* in its balance of payments, a truly beneficial *investment* rather than an economic cost.

"If future debt crises are to be forestalled," recommends the commission, "*sound financial policies* must be pursued and the terms of aid must be lenient." (Italics added.) By this the commission means that deflationary monetary policies must be imposed on countries suffering heavy debt burdens —thereby stifling further their ability to use expansionary monetary policies to finance domestic growth (such as have been pursued in the United States throughout the 1960's, irrespective of their balance of payments conse-

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quences). It may be remembered that the "stabilization" plans recommended by the IMF-World Bank missions to Argentina and Turkey in 1958 led to the fall of both governments, and that they represent a source of national discontent wherever applied, placing as they do international equilibrium over domestic equilibrium. Can any knowledgeable reader not be struck by the sharp contrast between the commission's call for balance of payments equilibrium in the less developed countries, while governments in the industrial nations, especially that of the United States, are deliberately pursuing "full employment" policies themselves, irrespective of the massive balance of payments deficits following from these policies?

What the report does *not* acknowledge is that the so-called "multilateral" institutions—the World Bank, IDA, IFC, the IMF, etc.—are thoroughly dominated by U.S. and British government appointees who steer their course of action to meet the dictates of American world strategy. Given this essentially U.S. domination of these agencies, it is unlikely that the agriculturally backward countries can continue to look to them for aid: the time has therefore come for them to resign from the World Bank and its associated organizations. Since Mr. McNamara's shift from the Pentagon to the World Bank, since the extension of his authority from merely domestic to worldwide U.S. national militant strategy, the Bank's policies have all too evidently become part of a grand plan of American empire—a strategy which, unfortunately, does not envision the welfare of the less developed countries except to the extent that it may in some areas dovetail into U.S. Cold War politics. In this context the Pearson Commission's report represents a *post mortem* on the World Bank. The less developed countries have been presented with the strongest possible argument for their withdrawal from the Bank and Fund.

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REVIEWERS

MICHAEL HUDSON is Visiting Lecturer in International Finance at the New School for Social Research in New York.

STUDS TERKEL has a new book due soon using the same interviewer technique he employed in *Division Street: America*. The book, *Hard Times: An Oral History of the Depression* will be published by Pantheon.

HAROLD ISBELL, himself a poet, is Director of the Writing Program at St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana.

JOHN MACQUARRIE is a professor of religion at Union Theological Seminary.

RABBI MARTIN SIEGEL of Temple Sinai of Long Island, is national co-chairman of the Commission of Jewish-Christian Institutes.

Fire and Blackstone

JOHN R. FRY

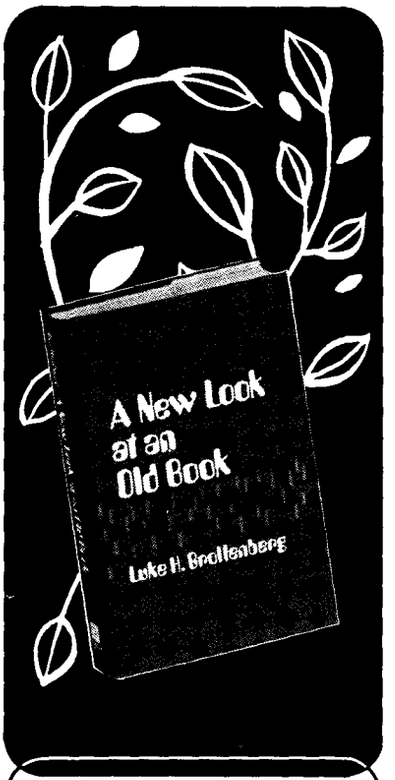
Lippincott, $5.95

STUDS TERKEL

Rev. John Fry is a troublemaker. No doubt about it. As a hood acquaintance of mine put it: it's official. The righteous egalitarian from Arkansas, Sen. John McClellan, was emphatic on this score, via network TV. So was the *Chicago Tribune*. Clearly, Fry, a young Presbyterian minister of a South Side Chicago church (once fashionable, now in the marrow of the black ghetto), has a fix. He's sold on Jesus Christ, agitator and street worker. Naturally, today's Roman Legionnaires are out to get him as they did the other. But he's tougher than they think. William Stringfellow feels they'll have to jail him or kill him: this obstinate young preacher speaks the Gospel and compounds the crime by living the Word.

Non-sermons, Fry calls this anthology of powerful exhortations; deep down, they are exultations, celebrations of life's possibilities. Neither Norman Vincent Peale nor Billy Graham nor, for that matter, will Cardinal Cody dig these preachments. His language is a fusing of the Testament and the street; of Then and Now.

From Isaiah and Mark, he's plucked out the hard, contemporary truth of blind Bartimaeus. When the wretched beggar heard of the healer coming to town, the walled city of Jericho (read: Chicago), he let out "an impertinent wailing. Uppity. A breach of the un-



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spoken contract between beggars and beggees; namely, that beggars be demure, their face to the ground, not overdoing it, otherwise beggees will be offended, stick their noses in the air and put their camels in low and take off." But Bartimaeus, like welfare mothers and Blackstone Rangers, knew what he was about. The astonished crowd did make way for him; he cut through the "hard eyes, which saw through the plight of the poor as though they were invisible." As a result of his rudeness, his unseemly demonstration, he encountered deliverance in the wayfaring troublemaker. "Jesus did *not* first ask him how long he had been blind. Jesus did *not* reach into his purse. . . . He instead asked simply, 'What do you want me to do for you?' Bartimaeus could not see Jesus, his eyes, but had grown skilled in listening to voice inflections. He heard no money in the voice, no charity. . . ." Bartimaeus, in the manner of an ADC mother I know, sensed the feeling tone. That did it. The beggar—no different from "all derelicts of the earth turned into hustlers by the hard hearts of their fellows"—was delivered. He *saw*.

The wretched had never dared hope before, neither in Jericho nor in Chicago. Now they "tremble with the strain of hoping"; with Bartimaeus, who "lifted up the heaviest words in his vocabulary," they're breaking through blindness.

From the text of Matthew, Fry barrels into the phenomena of muteness and deafness. He lets time and circumstance determine the nature of his outrage. And eloquence. "When the fuming Mayor of Chicago spoke this week about shooting to kill . . . et cetera . . . he was heard all right, on page one, on all TV channels, and especially in the hearts of his white countrymen. His police listened; his judges listened; his jailers listened." But who listened to the Rangers? From the accused young, not a word. Mute. "No matter how forcibly they affirmed their innocence, no judges listened, no citizens listened. Mute."

Thus Fry evokes the miracle of Elijah making drenched wood catch on fire. He interprets the Bible as the most wondrous of radical books. "Can you envision the ghetto talking? Have you any idea of the wealth of rich and intricate and utterly human sounds are there to be uttered? Have you any notion of the denseness and intensity of rage? What do verbal Molotov cocktails sound like? What would the ears do with these stunningly articulated dreams, these verbal creations of sorrow and sequestration? The end of exorcism is sound: *creative sound*. Human speech from the no longer voiceless."

There appears to be an almost improvisational air to these talks, as though a jazz artist were creating at the moment of performance. Naturally so. Life in the community—of the besieged young white preacher and his even more besieged young black parishioners—is, by virtue of Authority, impromptu. The joint may be raided at any time. The Gang Intelligence Unit of the Chicago Police Department gets a lot of mileage—and newspaper headlines—in busting the Blackstone Rangers. And bad-mouthing them. Included in this work is a particularly moving address Fry made in Milwaukee on the very evening the First Presbyterian Church was raided:

"Do you know what? I am sick of Christian responsibility? I have found secular responsibility much more responsible and Christian irresponsibility much more inviting. I suggest something quite different, something bizarre, something that Christian responsibility would label insane: namely, a joyous, very mellow go-for-broke split from the whole responsibility scene. Responsibility is one way to say white power, and it is this cultural rape of the Christian gospel that I am calling your attention to by suggesting wilder, riskier, more heavenly nonresponsibility . . . digging right in on those great young men, staying with them, facing the terror they daily face, feeling the pressure—the hunger—they daily feel, feeling with them along a dark wall on a dark night as they make their run for daylight; i.e., pushing them hard to make the full range of their dreams come true, no matter what the Mayor or the Presbytery or the police force thinks. . . . I've tried to tell it the way it is. God be merciful to us all."

Amen.

Speech and Reality

EUGEN ROSENSTOCK-HUESSY

Argo, $3.50

JOHN MACQUARRIE

Eugene Rosenstock-Huessy was one of the many distinguished scholars who came to this country at the time of Hitler's rise to power in Germany. For more than twenty years he was Professor of Social Philosophy at Dartmouth College, and since 1957 he has lived in retirement in Vermont.

Rosenstock-Huessy never became well-known in the United States, though his book *The Christian Future* drew some attention when it was published after World War II, and has recently been reprinted in paperback. But over the years he has gathered around him a loyal band of admirers from among his former students, and the Argo Press is now publishing his works in the hope that a larger readership will come to know and appreciate his teaching.

Although the present book is described as the key to its author's thought, it must frankly be said that it is unlikely to become a bestseller. It consists of seven essays, all of them written between twenty-five and thirty-five years ago. Apparently nothing has been done to weld the essays into a coherent book or to bring them up to date. There are many unnecessary repetitions. Publications of the early nineteen-thirties are referred to as "recent." We are told that views similar to those of the author are *now emerging* among Anglo-Saxons in the person of A. A. Bowman, though those of us who have known and respected Bowman (he was once Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow) are aware that he died as long ago as 1936. Radio is several times mentioned as the latest thing in communications media. All of these

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awkward features of the book could easily have been avoided by a little judicious editing, either by the author or one of his students.

However, let us come to the substance of the book. The author believes —as did Dilthey before him—that the social sciences suffer from being forced into the methodological mold of the natural sciences. Anyone acquainted with the kind of psychology and sociology commonly taught in the United States today could hardly fail to agree, and there is in fact currently a good deal of dissatisfaction with the naturalistic models used in these sciences. But where do we look for a better method?

Rosenstock-Huessy suggests that we look to language. Speech is the basic social reality. Grammar, in turn, is the science which describes and analyzes the structures of language. Hence grammar is the foundation for developing a methodology for the social sciences. It must be added at once that it is not conventional grammar that the author has in mind. The grammar we learn in school and which enables us to reel off conjugations and the like is a grammar which has killed the drama and dignity of living speech. Rosenstock-Huessy has in mind a renewed grammar, a "higher grammar," as he sometimes calls it, which will attend to the nuances of tense and mood, and will see in these the structures of the social reality.

The basic structure revealed by this approach is a fourfold one, and it keeps recurring throughout the book. Spatially, men face both outward and inward; temporally, they face both backward and forward. Or, to put the matter in another way, the social reality is always bounded by four fronts: inward space and outward space, past time and future time.

This basic framework provides a hermeneutic key to many situations. For instance, in the case of the body politic, an equilibrium among the four fronts is the condition of peace. Imbalance toward the outward space is war, toward the inward space anarchy; toward the past, it is decadence and toward the future, revolution. One gets the feeling that the fourfold scheme is just too neat to catch all the complexities of the human situations to which it is applied. But on many matters the author achieves a perceptiveness and wisdom that are of great help. His remarks on decadence, which occurs when the older generation is unable to tell its story and so transmit an identity to the younger generation, should be pondered by those who are worried about the "generation gap." His occasional allusions to the language of faith should prove interesting to theologians. It would be specially interesting to hear Catholic reactions to his high praise for the virtues of the Latin language!

Professor Clinton C. Gardner, who has written a useful introduction to the volume, says of Rosenstock-Huessy that "either he has made an epoch-making discovery for the future of man's knowledge about himself and his world or he is a minor essayist." This is an exaggerated disjunction. It would be nearer the mark to say that this book offers some useful insights and directions which, if liberated from an overly rigid framework, could make very helpful contributions toward working out a more human approach to the study of the human phenomenon.

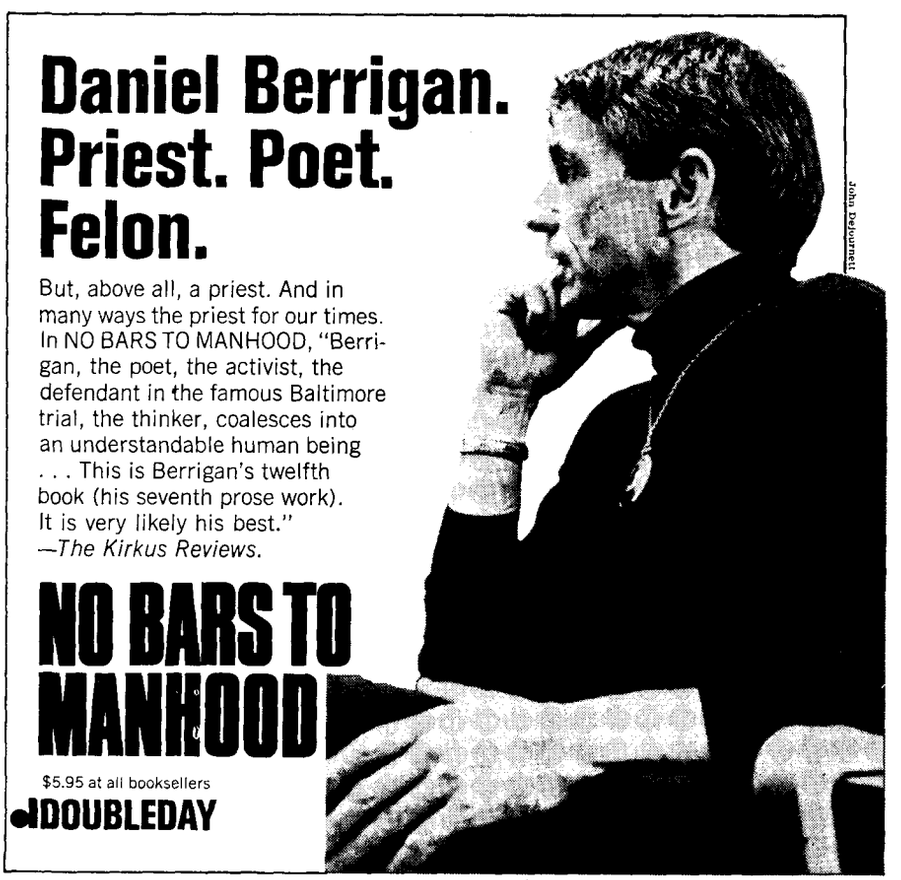
The Zig Zag Walk Poems: 1963-1968

JOHN LOGAN

E. P. Dutton, $5.95

HAROLD ISBELL

John Logan's poems depend always on the techniques of versification. That he writes to please the ear when so many poets are writing to please the eye alone is of course interesting. In a poem like "Suzanne," Logan sets up couplets which are linked internally by every nuance of end rhyme: "You make us want to stay alive, Suzanne,/ the way you turn/your blonde head./ The way you curve your slim hand/ toward your breast." Though the couplets are clearly separate, it is also obvious that Logan is maintaining a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rhythmical tension by a syntax which insists that the stanzas do not stand alone, that they are mutually dependent and necessarily belong together. The rhyme patterns defined in the textbooks and manuals may well be things of the past, but rhyme itself is as contemporary as anything else. Using a closeness of repetitive sound which can only be deliberate, Logan demonstrates that versification is a consideration much larger than it is often thought to be.

If there is one quality which can be said to characterize all the poems in this fourth book, it is that each poem displays a restraint which is consistently brilliant so that the over-all effect is one of a remarkably even control. Too frequently the term "free verse" is taken to mean something quite different from the reality it actually names. The words themselves suggest a license to commit any and every verbal atrocity. In other words, though most would certainly deny such implications, we often act as though free verse knew no restraints, as though free verse could be all success without ever engaging the risk of failure.

In this volume there is no sonnet, no villanelle, no ballad, and there is little if any blank verse. But by seeking the larger rhythms that reside in his subjects, Logan manages to achieve a rhythmed and hence restrained poem. As I write this, several poems come to mind: "Big Sur: Partington Cove," "Lines on Locks (or Jail and the Erie Canal)" and "The Rescue."

Each of these tells a story, conveys a narrative, and obviously each narrative details a sequence of events. Within this movement of fact we find a relationship between the parts that does, itself, become meaningful and important. In other words, the structure of information itself becomes a meaningful thing. To achieve this larger effect, an effect nowhere present in any isolated part or section of the poem, requires an order and an intention from which that order can descend.

In these three poems we find variations and rephrasings of an archetypal awareness of birth and its correlative, death. The poet, whether speaking factually or fictively, defines an experience in the terms of his own particularized existence. But this is only a beginning. Private experience (each poem is narrated in the first person) is enlarged to become a common, even universal, experience.

One of the most moving poems in the book, and I suppose my favorite, is "Poem Slow to Come, On the Death of cummings." In these seventy lines we can see much of what constitutes the achievement of John Logan. This elegy, like all such poems, is more for the living than for the dead. It is in death that we hopefully will find what we have always sought: quoting Gabriel Marcel, the poet says, " 'Death is not a problem to be solved./It is a mystery to be entered into.' " The facts of death which are interchangeably the facts of life are the poetry that we need. The poem refers to fear, to loneliness and to love. Though the poem seems loosely formed, its rhythms are the rhythms of direct address narrating event after event until finally the hero's death becomes his apotheosis. In that final and entirely fantastic event is the fact which draws the poem together.

If the usual academic distinctions between major and minor have any validity, then it must be said that John Logan is a poet of major importance. Without question, Logan violates—and quite blithely—many of the currently accepted canons of poetic taste. In a generation which treasures the concrete and the visual, Logan does not hesitate to invoke a richly sensuous experience supported by all the linguistic devices he can muster. While the spontaneous, the immediate, even the "found" is being elevated to poetic dignity, Logan continues to make poems about the extraordinary, the fantastic, even the surrealistic and totally imagined experience.

"BACK IN 1965 *(when the crusade* du jour *was for civil rights or something like that), Senator Muskie brought pressure to bear on the Maine legislature to downgrade the Prestile River. Where formerly the river was classified suitable for swimming and fishing, after Muskie's efforts it was perfectly legal to pollute it. The downgrading was needed, Muskie said, to attract a beet sugar refinery to depressed Aroostook County."*

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The Military Chaplaincy

GORDON ZAHN

University of Toronto Press, $7.95

MARTIN SIEGEL

In the Museum Against Religion in Leningrad, there is a large picture of the late Cardinal Spellman blessing a plane destined to carry hydrogen bombs. When I visited the Museum, my guide took great pleasure in showing this picture. "We all know that religion in America supports the aggressive military factions," he said. I took offense. I defended the American position by saying, "Cardinal Spellman is a special case. American religion is opposed to war and chaplains serve only as clergymen for the military."

Two years later, when I entered the military chaplaincy, I learned that I was wrong. The chaplain does do more than serve the men in the military. He is an integral part of the military apparatus.

For the first time, a serious attempt has been made to study the moral tensions that can be felt by a clergyman in the military. *The Military Chaplaincy* documents the moral conflicts of a group of chaplains in the Royal Air Force of Great Britain. Chaplains were asked to deal with the question of the relationship between their roles as military officers and clergymen. Specific tension areas were studied. Zahn asked the chaplains how they felt when faced with the possibility of mass destruction of civilian populations in war time, and the necessity to obey an order they felt immoral.

The research produced some interesting results. Even though most chaplains think of themselves primarily as clergymen, a large number felt they would not protest against military actions they felt immoral. The vast majority indicated that even if they did protest an immoral action, it would be of no

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value. When confronted with theoretical moral versus military conflict, the RAF chaplain will ordinarily affirm the moral position. However, he feels unable to do anything effective to translate his moral convictions into any action modifying the military decision.

It is clear from Dr. Zahn's research that in fact, if not in theory, the chaplain in the RAF is limited to duties supportive of the military. Zahn suggests we see this issue as a continuation of the ancient conflict between prophet and priest. In this context, we must assume that the chaplain in the RAF is a priest of the military apparatus.

Since very little similar study has been done on the American military chaplaincy, we have no base in which to compare the RAF situation with the American; but there is enough of a shared religious value system and military structure to make wider application of the research findings possible. If my own experience is any indication, all the conflicts considered by Dr. Zahn are also present in the American military. The conflict resolution pattern is also similar.

In this time of widespread concern about the military influence in our society, his work on the military chaplaincy can be the beginning for a significant general study. *The unique civilian-military, spiritual-temporal* role of the military chaplaincy make it a natural focus through which many of the broader concerns about military influence can be directed.

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 51)

You will come to a great city that
has expected your return
for years."

("For the Time Being", The Flight into Egypt)

Maybe my quarrel is rather over the nature of poetry, which, as I see it is to illumine reality for us. Without a profound sense of, and sympathy with, the human condition, the poet only shows himself to us. Does Mr. Materer say that religious poetry is prayer?

M. G. WALSH

Reply

Philadelphia, Pa.

I wish I were responsible for the upsidedown image of Auden—an appropriate (and respectful) way of seeing a poet unconventional enough to question the value of poetry.

God only knows what kind of relationship Mr. Auden has with Him. I merely wrote that in two passages in two specific poems, "In Sickness and in Health" and "Horae Canonicae," Auden, unlike Merton, expresses no feeling of direct relationship. The passages Mr. Walsh quotes from *For the Time Being* are another matter. Besides, this long poem was written well before the short lyrics I cited, and before the crucial analysis of esthetic and religious experience in *The Sea and the Mirror.*

I also wish that I could answer Mr. Walsh's important question about the nature of poetry and its link with prayer. Once I would have answered that poetry surely illumines reality and certainly can be prayer; now that I've absorbed Auden's later writings, I can't be sure. Instead of answering, I can only refer Mr. Walsh to Caliban's disturbing speech in *The Sea and the Mirror.*

TIMOTHY MATERER

The Greatest Pollutant

North Canton, Ohio

To the Editors: The article "Pollution and the Poor" by Wes Barthelmes [Feb. 20] has a perception that is eluding most Americans, who are giving major concern to fresh air and clean gutters, while many of the poor are dying with clean breath.

As a priest, I dread the coming confessional of Joe American, "Bless me Father, for I have sinned. I polluted the air"; this submission, while Poor Joe suffers in the foul stench of his poverty. Like Mr. Barthelmes, ("it is hoped that the human spirit be cleansed —after that, the air and water"), I feel priority should be given to the current and omnipresent problem of poverty. If we anoint the dying poor with the saving balm of concern and alleviation, our American scene will be that much the fresher. Poverty is its greatest pollutant.

I can't really add to what Mr. Barthelmes says nor could I say it any better. But I thank *Commonweal* for providing a perceptive guide to the growing popularity of pollution-concern and the attendant worry of a lessening interest in the poverty problem.

(REV.) ANTHONY FASLINE

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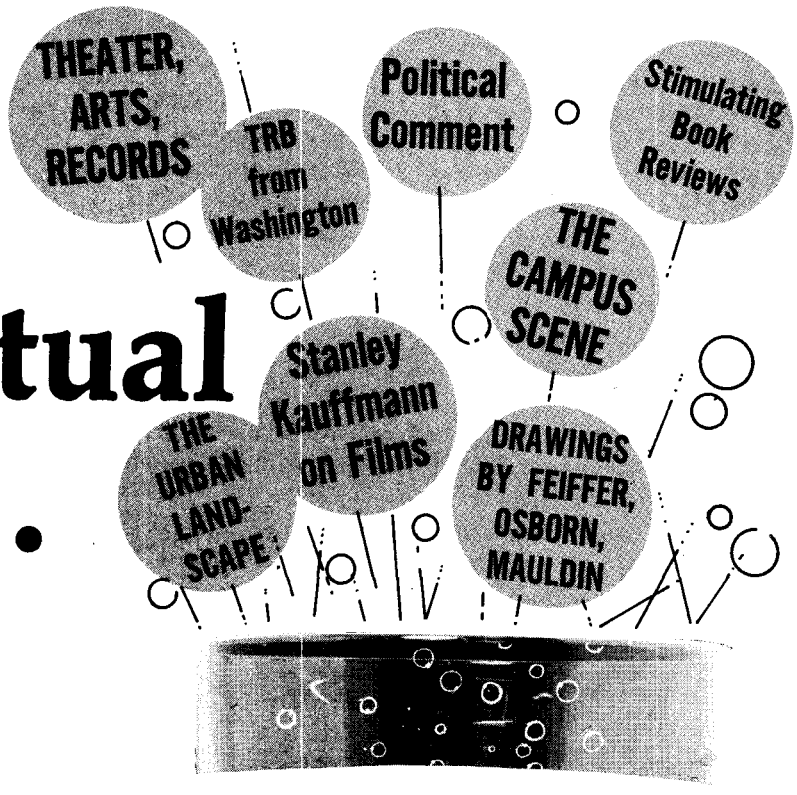

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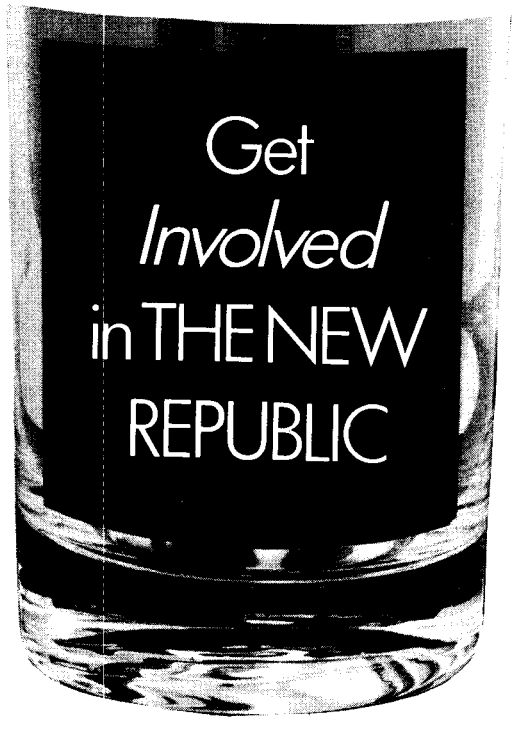

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